


CAI
SS 80
-1989
HSG

Government
Public

Housing and racial discrimination
in Canada

3 1761 11708025 9



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2023 with funding from
University of Toronto

<https://archive.org/details/31761117080259>

13

CA1

SS80

- 1989

H56

Housing And Racial Discrimination In Canada

A Preliminary Assessment of Current
Initiatives and Information

by:

Frances Henry
Equal Opportunity Consultants
Toronto, Ontario

Policy & Research,
Multiculturalism & Citizenship
August 1989

Copyright
Publication



Library and
Reading
in Canada

A National Association of
Librarians and Documentalists

1994
National
Library Conference

Library and
Reading
in Canada

ARL-8337

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
I INTRODUCTION	1
II PURPOSE OF THE STUDY	3
III STUDY METHODOLOGY	4
<u>PART I</u>	
IV RACE RELATIONS AND HOUSING INITIATIVES IN METROPOLITAN TORONTO	6
4.1 Municipal Initiatives	6
4.2 Metropolitan Toronto Housing Authority (MTHA)	7
V PUBLIC LEGISLATION AND POLICIES	9
VI INITIATIVES OUTSIDE ONTARIO	10
6.1 Quebec	10
6.2 Nova Scotia	12
VII RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING: THE EVIDENCE	14
7.1 Research Evidence in Canada	14
7.2 Human Rights Commission Data	16
7.3 International Survey of the Literature	19
VIII MINORITY COMMUNITY PERCEPTIONS	43
IX RELEVANCE OF ISSUE TO THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT	45
<u>PART II</u>	
X IMPLICATIONS	48

I INTRODUCTION

There are perhaps three major interrelated areas of concern relevant to housing and racial minorities:

- (1) Housing conditions
- (2) Ethnic and racial concentration
- (3) Racial discrimination

It is the third area that is of concern to this needs assessment.

Racial discrimination in many areas of society is increasingly being recognized as a major social issue in contemporary Canadian social institutions. Studies of discrimination in employment, media, and other sectors as well as attitude surveys have shown the extent of racial prejudice and discrimination in Canada. This research has been instrumental in helping to shape those public policies and programs directed at eradicating discrimination within these sectors of institutional life.

The crucial area of housing has, however, not been examined in detail. This, despite the fact that minority groups have expressed concern about discrimination in housing over a considerable number of years (see for example, the submission to the Special Parliamentary Committee on the Participation of Visible Minorities in Canadian Society, 1984). And despite the numbers of housing related complaints consistently received by Human Rights Commissions.

Before any systematic or comprehensive study of housing discrimination be undertaken in Canada, it is first useful to determine the adequacy of the present level of knowledge and understanding in Canada of the operation of the housing system in relation to racial minorities. How much is known about housing and racial discrimination?

II PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this study was to determine the present level of knowledge about housing and racial discrimination in Canada.

More specifically, this study was to:

- (1) Identify the existing programs and initiatives being undertaken in the Metropolitan Toronto area within the context of race relations and housing.
- (2) Identify the existing legislation and policies relating to racial discrimination and housing.
- (3) Identify existing programs and initiatives being undertaken in provinces other than Ontario.
- (4) Identify the existing level of evidence of racial discrimination in housing.
- (5) Determine existing perceptions and concerns within the minority communities of racial discrimination in housing.
- (6) Determine the relevance of racial discrimination in housing and related research to the Multicultural policies of the Federal Government.
- (7) Identify potential outcomes and implications if further research showed that racial discrimination in housing was widespread.

III STUDY METHODOLOGY

The study process was necessarily concise due to the time and budgetary constraints imposed on the project team.

The methodology that was employed incorporated desk research, personal interviews and telephone surveys.

Literature Review:

A literature search was undertaken utilizing computer data bank searches, library research and specialized information and research services such as the libraries of such agencies as the Ontario Ministry of Labour, Cross Cultural Communication Centre, Urban Alliance on Race Relations, etc.

The literature survey incorporated research, academic studies and government studies and reports. A review of the literature was undertaken and a brief comparative analysis of other situations (i.e. U.K. and U.S.) was undertaken to assist in determining the relevance and adequacy of the present level of evidence in Canada, and Toronto specifically..

In addition, a bibliography was compiled of the relevant literature.

Consultation:

A process of consultation was undertaken with senior officials of relevant public agencies (i.e. Metro Housing, Ontario Ministry of Housing, Ontario and Canadian Human Rights Commissions).

In addition, through **telephone surveys** with relevant housing, human rights agencies and academic institutions, a search was undertaken of any existing programs, initiatives and research being undertaken in provinces other than Ontario.

A selected survey of key representatives and leaders of the major racial minority communities in Metro Toronto was undertaken to determine their perceptions of the issue.

Analysis:

The relevant legislation and public policies existing at all three levels of government have been reviewed.

The existing principles incorporated in Canada's multicultural policy have been **assessed** in relation to the issue of research and racial discrimination and housing.

Finally a preliminary **assessment** has been undertaken to determine how more detailed findings on racial discrimination in housing can help guide and facilitate potential legislative changes, housing policy and program initiatives and priorities, as well as help to direct community initiatives.

IV RACE RELATIONS AND HOUSING INITIATIVES IN METROPOLITAN TORONTO

4.1 Municipal Initiatives

The City of Toronto, through its Housing Department, functions to increase the supply of housing in the City. The Department has implemented a number of initiatives over the last two years in its attempt to ensure that its services are accessible to all sectors of the population.

With respect to racial discrimination, while hard data is not available, there is some concern that racial minorities do not have equal access to Cityhome units (Multicultural Access to City Services. Proceedings from Community Briefing Sessions, June 27, 1987, City of Toronto).

Racial and ethnic minorities are underrepresented on the staff of the Housing Department and on Cityhome Management Boards. In addressing this concern:

- * Cityhome's personnel procedures and practices have been redesigned and new procedures and practices put in place keeping with the City's Equal Opportunity programs and Human Rights legislation.
- * All Housing Department supervisory staff have been provided with training and information sessions in respect to Human Rights legislation and Workplace Discrimination.
- * A Right to Freedom from Harassment policy has been developed and put in place.

It should also be noted that Cityhome's Tenant Relations Officers have always handled cases of ethnic or racial discrimination. These cases may be referred to the Board of Directors.

4.2 Metropolitan Toronto Housing Authority (MTHA)

In September 1986, the MTHA established the Race Relations Policies and Programs Branch with the appointment of Chimbo Poe-Mutuma as its Director. The Branch exists to deal with human rights issues or issues that have the potential to create disharmony or tensions. The Branch serves MTHA staff, tenants, and service providers.

In May 1987, the Metro Toronto Housing Authority Board approved the formation of the MTHA Race Relations' Committee. In addition to Board members, membership consists of MTHA staff, Ministry of Housing personnel and six tenants.

Supporting the Committee are distinct working groups consisting of tenants, property management, maintenance, security and recreation staff. Chaired by an MTHA race relations officer (of which there are two, excluding the Director), the working groups are responsible for identifying problems and providing solutions.

MTHA has developed a policy statement on race relations together with guidelines on its implementation.

Also, MTHA has declared its workplace and premises "harassment free" by establishing a harassment policy. With respect to racial and ethnic minorities this includes:

- * unwelcome remarks, jokes, innuendos or taunting about a person's racial or ethnic background, colour, place of birth, citizenship or ancestry;
- * the displaying of racist, derogatory, or offensive pictures, cartoons or material;

METROPOLITAN TORONTO HOUSING AUTHORITY RACE RELATIONS POLICY STATEMENT

The Metropolitan Toronto Housing Authority is Ontario's largest Authority, housing multi-cultural and multi-racial residents. It is committed to providing a healthy living environment to all persons without prejudice or discrimination on the basis of colour, race, ancestry, ethnic background, creed, religion, place of origin, sex, sexual orientation or disability.

In conformity with the Ontario Policy on Race Relations and the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms and the Ontario Housing Corporation Race and Ethnic Policy Statement, The Metropolitan Toronto Housing Authority will not tolerate discrimination in any form on its premises, among its residents, service providers, or among its staff.

It believes that its culturally diverse tenant population has a role to play in the Metropolitan Toronto community by sharing their cultures, traditions, social and economic experiences.

The Metropolitan Toronto Housing Authority is committed to equality and rights of all citizens to fair employment practices and services.

The pursuit of multi-cultural and multi-racial policies by MTHA will be reflected in program development, and community development projects which will be in consultation with residents to ensure responsiveness to this diversity.

IMPLEMENTATION GUIDELINES

In the process of implementing this policy, Metro Toronto Housing Authority shall ensure that mechanisms for monitoring and evaluating the effectiveness of the policy and review of current programs are established. This will require:

1. That there is a sub-committee which will be comprised of Board Members, senior staff and residents which shall direct the development and implementation of race relations programs and services.
2. That MTHA develop comprehensive staff training programs for senior management, middle management, and project staff.
3. That MTHA determine the cause and impact on Race Relations of over representation of one race or ethnic group in one project, and that MTHA will develop strategies to resolve the problem if over representation causes racial conflicts and tensions among residents.
4. That upon approval of the policy statement various communication strategies be developed so that the policy statement can be disseminated to all MTHA workplaces, residents, Community Organizations, Institutions, and Agencies.

5. That all MTHA staff receive cross-cultural training to:
 - a. familiarize and expose them to the needs of the various cultures/racial traditions and expectations of the multi-cultural/racial residents.
 - b. Provide staff with skills that are necessary to be able to identify and resolve or prevent racial conflicts and tensions within the MTHA environment.
 - c. Understand some of the personal, economic, environmental, or culturally/racially motivated problems that the staff may encounter on the premises with the residents or among the residents.
6. That MTHA review its programs to ensure that they meet the needs of the residents or that they are designed to serve the interests of that housing project.
7. That MTHA develop appropriate communication systems to promote programs or activities which improve:
 - the quality of life of the residents;
 - relations among residents, residents and their neighbourhoods and between residents and staff and among the staff;
 - relations among ethnic minorities and various institutions and agencies, and;
 - communication among MTHA staff.
8. That MTHA assists residents in the formation of community based working groups as part of its Community Development in Multi-culturalism and Race Relations Program.
9. That MTHA engage in consultation with community organizations, The Ontario Race Relations Directorate, Ontario Human Rights Commission, Race Relations Institutions, and Agencies.
10. That MTHA review its employment policies and procedures to ensure that they are non-discriminatory, and also develop an employment equity program to ensure that its workforce at all levels, is reflective of the racial diversity that exists within the Metropolitan Toronto area.
11. That MTHA set up a monitoring mechanism in its projects to ensure that institutions and agencies providing programs and services to MTHA residents meet the racial and cultural needs of those residents in program delivery.
12. a. That MTHA staff, residents, or agencies report to the Director of Race Relations, Policies and Programs all forms of racism or discrimination whenever identified on MTHA premises.
b. That an investigation procedure will be developed and a report on the findings be prepared to assist in solving the problem. An appeal process will be available to ensure that both the complainant and the accused receive fair treatment.



JOHN SEWELL
Chairman



KEVIN GAUL
General Manager

- * refusing to converse, serve or work with an employee because of his or her racial or ethnic background;
- * insulting gestures or practical jokes based on racial or ethnic grounds which cause embarrassment or awkwardness.

A set of procedures has been developed by which a complainant can report the harassment to the Director of the Race Relations Policies and Programs Branch.

While the racial composition of the 110 MTHA housing developments in Toronto varies considerably, in some complexes it is over 75 per cent. As the Strategy for Race Relations states (Working Together, Ontario Human Rights Commission, 1982):

"A high concentration of visible minorities in such complexes tends to create an atmosphere of mistrust and antagonism between them and white residents on the one hand, and between them and the overwhelming white community surrounding the complex on the other.

Furthermore, concentration of certain groups in public housing appears to have accentuated the pattern of social disadvantage for such groups. We cannot ignore the fact that, on a per capita basis, there are more racially motivated neighbourhood disputes and acts of vandalism reported by residents of these complexes than by residents of privately owned houses in Metropolitan Toronto."

It is important therefore to acknowledge the broader socio-economic factors involved. While the initiatives undertaken by the MTHA do not attempt to address these broader issues, at least they attempt to compensate for them. While it is premature to assess the impact of these initiatives, they also are not concerned with racial discrimination in housing per se.

V PUBLIC LEGISLATION AND POLICIES

The Ontario Human Rights Code states (Statutes of Ontario, 1981, Chapter 53, s.2):

"Every person has a right to equal treatment with respect to the occupancy of accommodation, without discrimination because of race, ancestry, place of origin, colour, ethnic origin, citizenship, creed, sex, age, marital status, family status, handicap or the receipt of public assistance.

Every person who occupies accommodation has a right to freedom from harassment by the landlord or agent of the landlord or by an occupant of the same building because of race, ancestry, place of origin, colour, ethnic origin, citizenship, creed, age, marital status, family status, handicap or the receipt of public assistance."

VI INITIATIVES OUTSIDE ONTARIO

While the study team consulted with different people in every Province, the only hard data received of any initiatives were from Quebec and Nova Scotia.

6.1 Quebec

The Quebec Human Rights Commission has recently commissioned a series of studies on housing issues related to minorities.

- * Study of the Laws, Rules and Political Institutions Related to Housing:

The first study is on the law, rules and political institutions which relate to housing. The study, which is not yet complete, examines the laws and the way they are written in order to assess their limitations and determine if they are prejudicial to minorities.

- * Comparative Study of Ethnic and Visible Minority Areas of Residential Concentration:

The questions this study seeks to answer include: Are ethnic and visible minorities concentrated in specific residential areas? These areas will be described in terms of types of houses, their cost, the need for renovation, numbers of persons per room, etc., and the general socio-economic status of the areas. The results will be compared with those of an earlier study undertaken in 1981.

* Study of Housing Characteristics of Selected Ethnic Groups:

Drawing from 1981 Census data, this study analyzes various demographic features of a variety of ethnic groups including their housing.

* Testing of Racial Discrimination in Housing:

Utilizing the same methodology first pioneered in Canada by Henry and Ginsberg (Who Gets The Work?, 1986), this study tested 200 units of a minimum of 4 1/2 rooms, using matched pairs of White and Black actors. The Black actors were mostly French-speaking Haitians, with some Black anglophones. Half of the actors presented themselves as lower class, the other half as middle class. Sex, age, family and personal characteristics were controlled. The selection of housing units were taken from newspaper advertisements. They were then telephoned for information about price, etc. and an appointment was arranged. A visit was undertaken by the Black actor first, and fifteen minutes later by the White actor.

The testers recorded the information on a predesigned form which included:

- the information from the newspaper
- the results of the telephone call
- the information from the personal visit
(time, date, the person or landlord who showed the unit, how treated, results of visit, etc.)

The information was then coded on a form, and the qualitative information was also coded and analyzed. The results of this study are not available as of this writing.

In addition to the above research being conducted by the Quebec Human Rights Commission, Claude Thomasset of the University of Quebec in Montreal is presently analyzing the rules and regulations and actual practices of the Regie du Logement - the administrative tribunal which regulates housing in Quebec. While not the primary focus of the study, the findings may indicate some issues around housing and racial discrimination.

6.2 Nova Scotia

The major focus of initiatives in Nova Scotia has been on attempting to address the quality of housing conditions within the province's Black communities.

The Black communities are severely depressed economically with high levels of unemployment.

Between 1975-1985, approximately \$15 million was expended for residence rehabilitation, new housing construction, and land servicing in Black communities. However, housing conditions within the Province's Black communities remain poor. The chronic problems that have been identified by the Nova Scotia Human Rights Commission include:

- unit over-crowding due to cultural patterns;
- widespread lack of basic facilities (i.e. plumbing, sewage, heating, etc.);

- excessive portion of income required for housing;
- difficulty in obtaining repair or construction financing because of low market values in Black communities.

In response to the above last point regarding problems of obtaining mortgages and loans, the Nova Scotia Human Rights Commission undertook a process of consultation with financial institutions. The feedback the Commission received was that the financial institutions had difficulties lending to Blacks because "they would only buy in ghetto areas. In case of default, only other disadvantaged, poor ghetto dwellers would want the property". In response to the process of consultation, the commercial banks promised to "study the problem" further and get back to the Commission.

VII RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING: THE EVIDENCE

7.1 Research Evidence in Canada

Apart from the above identified study presently being conducted in Quebec, no systematic research has been identified on racial discrimination and housing in Canada.

John Kralt compiled Atlases of Residential Concentration for Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver (Multiculturalism Canada 1986). However, any causal analysis of ethnic and racial residential clustering is not attempted.

A number of attitudinal studies have been undertaken including Henry (1978), Bibby, and others showing levels of social distance from racial minorities.

One significant study, while it does not test for discrimination, but merely relies on the reports of victims, was done in Montreal for the Movement pour Combattre La Racisme in 1980-81. Black and other visible minority immigrants living in two sections of the city were sampled by means of census tracts and questioned with respect to their experience with racial discrimination in housing. Twenty-two per cent of respondents had personal experience with discrimination and many more had heard of other experiences. More than three-quarters had had the experience of being told an apartment was 'just rented'. The author concludes that racial discrimination in housing is severe in Montreal. He also later states that it is not merely a temporary problem which will go away once groups get to know each

other better. Housing segregation is on the increase in Montreal and this is largely the result of the inability of visible minority people to exercise free choice in their living arrangements (Teitlebaum and Berube, 1983).

The methodology of field testing, where matched applicants apply for work or accommodations, was successfully used to test employment discrimination in Toronto in 1986 ('Who Gets The Work?', Henry & Ginsberg). The above noted Quebec Human Rights Commission study is utilizing the same methodology, as did a pilot project in 1986 in Toronto, testing for housing discrimination.

The purpose of this study was to test the incidence of racial discrimination against single professional females, attempting to seek an apartment in Toronto. The two researchers represented themselves as being from the same income level, same age, and the same appearance, the only exception being their race. The researchers sought apartments that were in the range of \$450 and \$650 per month.

Of the 73 cases tested, 31 showed blatant discrimination. This was defined when the Black researcher was told there was no vacancy and immediately afterward, the White researcher was told differently. Blatant discrimination was also defined as occurring when different prices were quoted for the same rental accommodation. Another characteristic of blatant discrimination was when a different availability date was given to the Black researcher in comparison to the White researcher.

Ten of the 73 cases were classified as questionable. That is, there was a vagueness in the responses in either the availability date or in a vacancy coming up. It was also questionable when there was a slight difference in the treatment received and courtesy (i.e. offering of a business card, etc.)

Only in 32 of the 73 cases was there no difference in treatment of information offered to the researchers.

These preliminary results clearly indicate that there is a very significant amount of housing discrimination. Significantly, the methodology also reveals that for the most part, non-white applicants would never suspect that they had been the victims of racial discrimination. When landlords or rental agents act pleasantly and courteously but say that they have no vacancies, an applicant will readily accept that explanation. It is only when a White applicant speaks to the same contact person and is told that a vacancy will come up in a month's time, or is given an application form to fill in, is told to phone again next week, or is quoted a lower rental rate for the same apartment that the non-white realizes that different and unequal treatment has taken place.

7.2 Human Rights Commission Data

If for no other reason than the comment just made above regarding the lack of awareness on the part of the victim that discrimination has occurred, any interpretation on the number of complaints received by Human Rights Commissions should be undertaken with considerable caution.

Between 1982 and 1987, the Alberta Human Rights Commission received between 4 to 20 tenancy complaints by race annually.

In the same period, the Manitoba Human Rights Commission received between 80 to 90 housing cases per year. Again in the same period, the Saskatchewan Human Rights Commission received between 16 and 33 complaints annually, most of which involved Native people.

The Ontario Human Rights Commission, in responding to the same kind of numbers, have categorized the complaints according to housing denial (the highest incidence), housing eviction, housing occupancy, harassment, and those dealing with commercial units.

As noted, the vast majority of victims do not realize that they have been discriminated against. This is particularly true where the only contact with the landlord has been over the phone. Only if the landlord's behaviour was suspect, or if the apartment was subsequently re-advertised, will the person know he/she has been discriminated against. Even then, victims are usually very reluctant to file complaints with the human rights commission (Dorothy Quann, "Racial Discrimination in Housing", Canadian Council on Social Development, 1979).

A number of reasons have been put forward as to why victims do not complain to the Commission. Many are unfamiliar with human rights legislation, and many do not know of the existence of provincial human rights commissions. Most people do not know what action to take if they are discriminated against.

For those that do, a prevalent attitude seems to be that the procedures are too complicated and time consuming, and even if a decision was found in their favour, it would not change the situation.

Another contributing factor to the reluctance by victims to make a formal complaint is that many are immigrants with perhaps a limited knowledge of English, come from a country where human rights legislation and complaint procedures are mostly unknown, and perhaps afraid of jeopardizing his or her immigration status (K. Lumb, York University, 1986).

Dorothy Quann, using data from the Human Rights Commissions, notes that two types of prejudice on the part of landlords leads to housing discrimination. In the first instance, landlords may hold negative stereotypes about certain groups and believe that such people will make bad tenants. In another type of prejudice, landlords will restrict occupancy on the grounds that existing tenants have biases and would threaten to move out if members of a particular minority group were allowed to move in.

These two types of attitudes are intertwined and self-reinforcing. As indicated from the preliminary findings of the pilot project in Toronto, various methods are used by rental agencies or landlords to prevent minority groups from renting or acquiring property. Discrimination may first arise either as an immediate response to the applicant's manner of speaking over the

telephone or to the visual appearance at the door. Because many minorities have accents, they may encounter immediate discrimination on the phone.

Other people, whose minority status cannot be detected over the phone, might encounter discrimination when they arrive to see the place. As mentioned, the most common form this takes is to tell the person that the place has just been taken. Super-intendents will sometimes exaggerate the rental price, or insist that the apartment cannot be shown because it is not clean, still occupied, or needs painting. Owners of large apartment complexes usually have a number of other subtle but systematic approaches to screening unwanted applicants. For example, applications may be given out to anyone who wants to rent but only the 'desirable' ones will receive accommodations.

Discrimination appears to be more common in certain kinds of rental accommodation than in others. "Owners of rooming houses seem to discriminate the most frequently. Private dwellings, such as duplexes where the landlord resides in the building, also exhibit a high rate of discrimination. Most of the cases heard by provincial Human Rights Commissions concern these types of residential accommodation". (Quann).

7.3 International Survey of the Literature

Research in Britain and the United States has shown that there is consistent racial discrimination and racial disadvantage in housing markets. The Policy Studies Institute in the U.K. has

investigated the extent and form of racial discrimination in urban social life (Daniel 1968; Smith 1975; Brown 1984) and several studies by the U.S. government and private consulting firms illustrate how widespread discrimination and disadvantage is in housing markets in the U.S. (Weink et al. 1979; Newburger 1984).

Racial discrimination in public and private housing occurs in the areas of sales, rental finance and information. Studies also indicate that the housing characteristics of minorities differ greatly from the general housing characteristics of the British and American populations. There is a need for research aimed at distinguishing the determinants and variations of racial discrimination in housing, and policies to manage and reduce forms of racial disadvantage in society.

Public Housing Market

The literature dealing with the public rental sector in Britain is quite voluminous and in recent years much of the work has been policy oriented. Rex and Moore's seminal study of Sparkbrook in Birmingham provides a general theory of racial discrimination. Restriction in access to housing for Blacks and certain concentrations are seen as a result of the movement of large numbers of Blacks into the inner city which in turn aggravated competition between housing 'classes'. This economic conflict theory is criticized by Davies and Taylor (1970) who claim that it is the threat to the status of a particular locality which produces conflict and discrimination. In a series of working papers, the Social Science Research Council's Research

Unit on Ethnic Relations * (RUER) examines the allocation and dispersal policies of local housing authorities. Hazel Flett (1977) has studied the access to housing in Manchester and finds that Blacks are over-represented in poor housing conditions and under-represented in council housing. She questions the viability of dispersal policies, as the issue itself may become void if local authorities redirect efforts and work to: (1) remove obstacles to access; (2) make sure applicants have a wide choice of estates; and (3) monitor allocations to make sure that Blacks are not concentrated on particular 'unpopular' estates.

In 1979 Flett investigated the allocation of Blacks in public housing in Birmingham. The allocation of housing, is by its very nature discriminatory, as scarce resources are given to some while others are denied housing. As a result of the discriminatory policies of the local authority and the system of 'rationing', Blacks have been disadvantaged in housing. In another working paper, Flett (1981) analyzes the complicated political issues surrounding dispersal in public housing in Birmingham. She investigates the effects of policies on Black allocations by examining the lettings of Black and White households in different years. The research left no doubt that Birmingham's dispersal policy was discriminatory. David Clark (1977) analyzes the findings of a survey undertaken in West Midlands

* This research body is now located at the University of Warwick and has been renamed the Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations (CRER).

Conurbation in 1975 that compared the housing characteristics and housing conditions of English and immigrant manual workers. The study confirms other studies which show that there is a fair difference in housing patterns in terms of tenure, housing quality, use of standard amenities, etc. between English residents and residents born in the New Commonwealth. He also concluded that there was a marked difference in housing characteristics between West Indian and Asian respondents.

The Commission for Racial Equality (C.R.E.) has made a number of important investigations into allocation policies and procedures. One important study by the C.R.E. involves the analysis of race and council housing in Hackney with the aim of determining the different types and qualities of properties allocated to ethnic minorities and White applicants, and attempting to pick out factors which may have influenced such allocations. The Commission concludes that Hackney had unlawfully discriminated against various ethnic individuals in terms of waiting lists, rehousing and homeless cases (C.R.E. 1984b) that confirmed reports of patterns of discrimination against Black applicants where ethnic minorities are concentrated in the poorest council housing. In another study of allocations of council housing for people with work permits, it was discovered that local housing authorities in areas in and around London had policies and practices that limited work permit holder access to public housing. These activities contravened the Race Relations Act (C.R.E. 1982). A project by Runnymede Trust (Niner and Karn 1985) had two objectives: to attempt to establish whether or

not allocation procedures of housing associations in West Midlands contained racial bias, and if bias exists, explore processes by which it arose. This study, along with many others that view racial disadvantage in the public sector, demonstrated that organizations often give low priority to racial equality, vis a vis other aims. This disinterest in equal opportunity often results in forms of institutional racism.

The Commission for Racial Equality is also involved in formal investigations into the letting activities, policies, and procedures of specific public housing associations such as Collingwood (C.R.E. 1983). Another study raises the issue of racial harassment in public housing and illustrates how local authorities can fight such cases on local authority housing estates (London Race and Housing Forum 1981).

Public housing in the United States tends to play a minor role in the entire housing market. The public sector can be viewed as having three distinct characteristics: (1) its unpopularity among government elites and the general public; (2) the concentration of public housing tenants among two social groups, the poor Blacks and the White elderly; and (3) the strict segregation along racial lines (McKay 1977). Controversy in public housing and quasi-public subsidized housing programs has centred on integrating 'Black' housing into White areas. Prior to 1962, there was no national policy in the U.S. favouring equal opportunity in housing and local authorities were allowed to choose sites and allocate tenants according to race. Even two

decades after the development of fair housing policies in 1968, social scientists concluded that continuing high levels of segregation are attributable mainly to continuing high levels of discrimination (Sloane 1983). Discriminatory policies and activities of local authorities have placed geographic limitations on residential choice for Blacks (Kain 1979), Hispanics (Hernandez 1983), and many other minority groups. This discrimination is in the form of exclusion (Yinger 1977). Also, racial segregation must be viewed as having an impact on the ethnic acquisition of employment and education (Kain and Quigly 1972) and the development of ghettos called 'fed slums' (McKay 1977).

Private Housing Market

There has been a plethora of local and national studies that highlight discrimination in the private housing sectors in Britain and the United States (Smith 1976, 1977; Fenton and Collard 1977; Weink et al. 1979; Smith and Mieszkowski 1980; Brown 1984; Newburger 1984; see bibliography for further references). In both countries there are certain practices and pressures that have led to racial discrimination and disadvantage in housing.

The real estate market in the U.S. is inundated with individuals and groups that practice overt and subtle forms of discrimination. In nationwide studies such as the Housing Markets Practices Survey (Weink et al. 1979), findings indicate that Blacks are discriminated against in the sale and rental of housing and systematically treated less favorably with regard to housing availability. A more recent study shows that discrimination

occurs when minorities search for housing (Newburger 1983). Blacks seem to pay less for housing in some metropolitan cities. This apparent contradiction in evidence is explained by differences in locational amenities between racially segregated neighbourhoods (Smith and Mieszkowski 1980). Research indicates that Blacks have a 15-25% lower probability of home ownership. Other studies in the U.S. indicate that the probability of home ownership is considerably lower for Blacks than it is for comparable Whites (Jackman and Jackman 1980), although a more recent demographic study points to smaller racial differences in home ownership and overcrowding for Blacks and an overall gradual improvement in housing conditions (Bianchi et al. 1982). In Britain, the issue of price differentials was raised by Mike Fenton and David Collard (1977) who consider the hypothesis that coloured tenants tend to pay more than White tenants for a given quality of accommodation. They conclude from the findings that rent discrimination against coloured people occurred in the unfurnished sector in Hackney, Tower Hamlets and Lambeth.

Another important element in reviewing the marketing activities of homebuilders and the real estate industry is advertising practices. A four year study of newspaper advertising in Washington examined practices that indicated preferences, limitations or discrimination based on criteria such as race, colour or national origin and found that papers carried ads with discriminatory references, and more subtle methods to convey racial information about housing (Housing Opportunities Centre 1977).

In the real estate industry, agents act as market intermediaries and quite often accept and reinforce the status quo which may include the developed patterns of racial segregation in a dual market system (McKay 1977). There is substantial evidence that estate agents attempt and often succeed in excluding minority home buyers from purchasing in certain areas. Racial exclusion often involves private organizations as in the case of the U.K. Formal investigations into the letting activities, policies and procedures of specific housing associations may lead to redress in court for individual complainants and studies of systemic discrimination in agencies (C.R.E. 1980). Collard (1984) uses a model of estate agent behaviour to explain this form of 'gatekeeper' activity and points to important policy factors such as education, added competition, public ownership, and the computerization of information that might collectively alter such behavioural tendencies. In the U.S., several studies examine the role of real estate agents such as community gatekeepers. Field experiments illustrate that these agents often differentiate according to race, in decisions about showing homes, and also about possible locations (Yinger 1977; Pearce 1979, 1984).

U.K. research tests indicate that when West Indian and Asian applicants respond to advertisements by estate agents, they are treated differently in 29% of cases. Other research found that when they respond to advertisements by accommodation agencies, they suffer discrimination in about one case in five (Runnymede Trust 1979).

In a study of 13 real estate companies in Akron, Ohio (Sultman), 12 indicated discrimination in one or more of the following categories:

- location offered
- forms required
- access to units
- access to listings
- price differences
- racial remarks
- courtesy

Other problems faced by minority families in the housing sector in general relate to difficulties in obtaining mortgage finance and information about houses. One study (C.R.E. 1985) investigated the allocation of mortgages for housing in inner-city areas with a majority of British ethnic communities. The investigation identified practices that indirectly discriminate against Asians in Rochdale. 'Redlining', as it is called, is a policy whereby mortgage lending is restricted to certain areas and types of properties (Ratcliffe 1986). It was discovered that local informal decision-making processes involving 'rules of thumb', were discriminatory. The practices were shown to be of little commercial value and were disadvantageous to the ethnic community in general.

Discrimination in mortgage lending has received wide attention in the U.S. and studies illustrate how minority households and certain neighbourhoods are arbitrarily denied access to

mortgages. There are different forms of discrimination as banks and financial institutions may practice geographic redlining and discriminate in home finance on an individual basis (Schafer 1979). Creative forms of mortgage loans introduce new factors in determining an applicant's creditworthiness that are often based on the subjective judgments of lenders. Also, the assumption that a class of minority applicants pose a greater risk may have the same effect as rejections based on intentional discrimination (Sloane 1983). Affordability is a major housing problem in the U.S. with the demise of federally subsidized programs and volatile interest rates for mortgages. Without programs for high-risk buyers, those including low and moderate income people, saving and loan associations, are constrained to simply do business in a profitable manner (Kain 1979; Watson 1984).

Strategies For Change

In an important paper on 'policy-relevant' strategies for fair housing research, John Goering (1982) has outlined several vital components of research aimed at race discrimination. There are three such components or stages, and they include:

- (1) a greater clarification of basic goals and concepts;
- (2) improvements in measuring techniques and 'baseline' research; and
- (3) an improved understanding of the nature and extent of racial and policy influences on housing market dynamics (p.459). Policy makers and researchers alike have had substantial difficulties in providing clear operational definitions for discriminatory conduct. Researchers have only recently made deliberate and conscious efforts to view individual instances of racial

discrimination alongside institutional and structural factors of racial disadvantage.

In the area of designing effective measures for combatting racial discrimination, no method has had as much success in both the United States and Britain as the audit. The audit is a survey technique where two individuals, one White and another from a minority group, who have virtually identical family and economic characteristics, successively visit a landlord or real estate agent in search of accommodation. Any systematic differences in the way they have been treated is evidence of racial discrimination (Weink et al. 1979; Smith and Mieszkowski 1980; Newburger 1984). The audit studies cited above illustrate an important methodological advance because surveyors observe housing transactions and are able to control all influences as in an experiment (Yinger 1982).

The audit technique is an important research tool that may provide a necessary link between the social scientist and the policy maker. Yinger (1982) discusses various designs for audit studies and describes basic tests for discriminatory behaviour of landlords and real estate brokers. He also explains that with an audit it is possible to employ simple techniques such as bivariate regression. Of course, there are limitations to audit studies. What is missing is the employment of tests in areas outside of real estate sales and rental such as mortgage and finance (Goering 1982). Also, there are other categories of realtors known as

'footloose brokers' (Yinger 1977) whose activities would not be detected by such audit techniques.

The measurement of racially discriminating purposes or intent is a difficult one and guidelines are needed on methods to analyze racially motivated decisions and practices and unintentional acts. Measures could include evidence of historical background of decisions, departures from regular operating procedures, and policy and impact statements (Goering 1982).

Research in the 80's has focussed on important external events that tend to stimulate changes in policy. Various models and strategies have been developed by local and central governments to achieve equal opportunities for minorities in housing. These areas include: (1) legislation on racial inequality in housing; (2) integration management; and (3) ethnic monitoring and equal opportunity policy (Ward 1984).

Legislation

In recent years both the United States and Britain have developed anti-discriminatory legislation aimed at public housing. In 1968, the United States passed Title VIII of the Civil Rights Act, popularly known as open-house legislation or the Fair Housing Act. The U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (H.U.D.) and the Department of Justice are responsible for designing, implementing and evaluating public policies in the area of public housing (Goering 1982). H.U.D. is legislatively mandated to investigate individual complaints alleging discrimination on the basis of race, colour, sex, religion or national

origin in the sale, rental, advertising or financing of housing. The Department of Justice is charged with the duty of examining general patterns and practices of discrimination. In Britain, the Commission for Racial Equality has the mandate to enforce the provisions set out in the Race Relations Act, 1976. Under this piece of legislation the Commission is responsible for investigating cases of alleged racial discrimination, direct or indirect, in the provision of facilities and services in housing. The Commission's strategy in the housing arena has been to concentrate on using its legal powers and use the results for promotional purposes.

Definitional problems abound as government agencies in both countries fail to properly operationalize definitions of discriminatory conduct and there is disagreement over tests to prove such discrimination (Goering 1982). In the U.S., critics claim that federal enforcement of Title VIII is weak and that there is "an administrative pattern of developing equal housing opportunity strategies only when private litigation has forced action" (Schafer 1977: 10-11). For example, some housing transactions (such as the sale of a house by its owner) are exempt in the 1968 Act, but are covered by the Supreme Court decisions Jones vs. Mayer, 1968. In both the United States and Britain, there have been calls to strengthen the legislation aimed at reducing discrimination and disadvantage in housing markets (U.S. Commission on Civil Liberties 1983; C.R.E. 1985).

The Fair Housing Act in the United States and the Race Relations Act in Britain are a long way from eliminating discrimination in housing markets as illustrated by government reports (Weink et al. 1979; C.R.E. 1984a, 1984b, 1985). As is the case in Ontario with the Human Rights Code, 1981, general housing legislation has made slow progress but, there are still strong currents of racial segregation and evidence of forms of discrimination in housing markets. John Yinger (1977) points out that even if the legislation were strenuously enforced, discrimination might still occur. This is because discrimination takes various shapes and forms including restrictions and distortions of information given to minorities. He suggested that one policy solution might be to improve the flow of information in housing markets by encouraging the flow through existing institutions, and by developing new centralized market institutions. Also, there is a need for laws to cover other forms of discrimination such as institutional racism as in the case of the practices of groups of real estate agents (Pearce 1979).

Government housing policies must rearrange priorities and focus efforts on strengthening and enforcing anti-discriminatory laws. This includes publicized compliance reviews and developing across the board regulations to be enforced. H.U.D. must take a stronger leadership role among federal agencies to effect fair housing goals, monitor affirmative action plans, and conduct community-wide compliance reviews (Schafer 1977). H.U.D. also needs further legislative power to issue cease and desist orders in situations of violation of Title VIII. Suggestions for organi-

zational changes in U.S. policy include the development of housing allowance programs for participants moving into new communities and a call for a minority loan program (Schafer 1977). There are several important proposals for change on the table for the British Race Relations Act. These include the development of a wider scope of practice, the clarification of illegal forms of discrimination and available tests, strengthening law enforcement, and improving remedies and mechanisms for change (C.R.E. 1985).

Integration Management

The limited success of fair housing legislation is seen to emerge from a basic conflict in two objectives: the goal of initiating integration by eliminating discrimination, and the goal of maintaining stable integration (Lake 1984). Robert Lake (1984) considers the unintended implications of legislation aimed at promoting integration and points to the patterns of 'white-flight', as Blacks obtain housing in suburban areas. It has been argued that it is possible to separate the policy goal of eliminating discrimination and the policy goal of promoting integration. Government intervention in housing markets is an issue that stands on its own, and fair housing legislation should not be judged solely on its ability to foster integration (Yinger 1977).

In Britain, local authorities have employed devices such as quotas for integration management. As in the case of Manchester (Flett 1977), the government dispersal policies were investigated and shown to contravene the Race Relations Act because they discriminate against the same members of the

population group they claim to benefit. Clearly, the programs and policies that attempt to manage residential turnover are problematic even when voluntary in nature (Flett 1984).

Ethnic Monitoring and Equal Opportunity Policy

The Commission for Racial Equality in Britain has repeatedly called for several key strategies for change. In response to findings on housing allocation activities and mortgage financial practices, the Commission recommends several important local policies to combat discrimination and disadvantage. These include efficient ethnic record-keeping and monitoring systems, reviews of policies and procedures, equal opportunity employment policies, training programs for local authority staff, the appointment of specialist workers and firm policies dealing with racial harassment on council estates.

Ethnic monitoring in particular is one strategy that race relations experts stress in the fight to remove the racial disadvantage felt by minority groups in housing. Tim Ridoutt (1984) uses the Lewisham Housing Department as an example of the uses of ethnic monitoring systems. In this case, a monitoring system was established to determine whether a pattern of racial disadvantage had developed in the housing authority's letting of council housing. Monitoring seems to be the only way to remove the belief that officers with good intentions are unable to discriminate, and at the same time, ensure that institutional discrimination does not occur. In the Hackney report (C.R.E. 1984) direct discrimination had occurred as a result of the actions of individual

officers in the form of racial stereotyping. It was recommended that formal ethnic records be kept and continually monitored so as to keep the discretion of staff members in check and ensure individual views do not lead to differential treatment in housing. These measures would also reveal patterns of racial discrimination in authority policy and procedure. Of course, monitoring is only the first step and racial awareness training, assessments of policies and procedures, and improved legislation all help to defeat racial discrimination in housing.

Bibliography

Bianchi, Suzanne M., Farley, Reynolds and Daphne Spain

- 1982 "Racial inequalities in housing: An examination of recent trends", Demography, 19 (1): 37-51.

Brown, Colin

- 1984 Black and White Britain: The Third PSI Survey.
London: Heinemann.

Clark, David

- 1977 "Immigrant responses to the British housing market: A case study in the West Midlands Conurbation", Working Papers on Ethnic Relations, no.7. Birmingham: S.S.R.C. Research Unit on Ethnic Relations.

Collard, David

- 1973 "Exclusion by estate agents: An analysis", Applied Economics, 5: 281-288.

Commission for Racial Equality

- 1980 Reports of Two Formal Investigations by the Commission for Racial Equality into Certain Activities of

(i) Mr. G.D. Midda and D.S. Services Ltd.
(ii) Allen's Accommodation Bureau.

Commission for Racial Equality

- 1982 The Allocation of Housing with Particular Reference to Work Permit Holders: Report of a Formal Investigation.
London: C.R.E.

Commission for Racial Equality

- 1983 Collingwood Housing Association Ltd.: Report of a Formal Investigation. London: C.R.E.

Commission for Racial Equality

- 1984a Race and Council Housing in Hackney: Report of a Formal Investigation. London: C.R.E.
- 1984b Race and Housing in Liverpool: A Research Report. London: C.R.E.

Commission for Racial Equality

- 1985 Race and Mortgage Lending: Report of a Formal Investigation. London: C.R.E.

Commission for Racial Equality

- 1985 Annual Report. London: C.R.E.

Community Relations Commission

- 1977 Housing Choice and Ethnic Concentrations: An Attitude Study. London: C.R.E.

Daniel, W.W.

- 1968 Racial Discrimination in England. London: Penguin Books.

Davies, J., and J. Taylor

- 1970 "Race, community and no conflict", New Society, July 9th: 67-69.

Fenton, Mike and David Collard

- 1977 "Do coloured tenants pay more?", Working Papers on Ethnic Relations, no.1. Bristol: S.S.R.C. Research Unit on Ethnic Relations.

Flett, Hazel

- 1977 "Council housing and the location of ethnic minorities", Working Papers on Ethnic Minorities, no.5. Bristol: S.S.R.C. Research Unit on Ethnic Relations.
- 1979 "Black council tenants in Birmingham", Working Papers on Ethnic Relations, no.12. Bristol: S.S.R.C. Research Unit on Ethnic Relations.

Flett, Hazel

- 1979 "Dispersal policies in council housing: Arguments and evidence, New Community, 7(2): 184-194.
- 1981 "The politics of dispersal in Birmingham", Working Papers on Ethnic Relations, no.14. Bristol: S.S.R.C. Research Unit on Ethnic Relations.
- 1982 "Differential treatment in housing: Issues and approaches", New Community, 10(1): 46-54.
- 1984 "Asians in council housing: An analysis", In: Robin Ward (ed.) Race and Residence in Britain: Approaches to Differential Treatment in Housing. Monograph on Ethnic Relations 2. Birmingham: S.S.R.C. Research Unit on Ethnic Relations.

Goering, John M.

- 1982 "Race, housing, and public policies: A strategy for social science research", Urban Affairs Quarterly, 17(4): 463-490.

Hahn, Colin

- 1984 "Public housing in Hackney", New Community, 11(3): 249-255.

Hernandez, Jorge N.

- 1983 "Hispanics and fair housing: The neighbourhood development issue", in: United States Commission on Civil Rights, pp. 100-104.

Housing Opportunities Center

- 1977 Preference, Limitation, Discrimination: A Study of Newspaper Display Advertising for New Sales Housing in Metropolitan Washington, D.C., 1972-1975. Washington: The Metropolitan Washington Planning and Housing Association.

Jackman, Mary R. and Robert W. Jackman

- 1980 "Racial inequalities in home ownership", Social Forces, 58(4): 1221-1234.

Kain, John F. and John M. Quigley

- 1972 "Housing market discrimination, home ownership and savings behaviour", American Economic Review, 62(3).

Kain, John F.

- 1979 Racial Discrimination in Urban Housing Markets and Goals for Public Policy. Department of City and Regional Planning, Harvard University.

Lake, Robert W.

- 1984 "Changing symptoms, constant causes: Recent evolution of fair housing in the United States", New Community, 11(3): 206-213.

London Race and Housing Forum

- 1981 Racial Harassment on Local Authority Housing Estates. A report prepared by the London Race and Housing Forum. London: Commission for Racial Equality.

McKay, David H.

- 1977 Housing and Race in Industrial Society: Civil Rights and Urban Policy in Britain and the United States. London: Croom Helm.

Newburger, Harriet

- 1984 Recent Evidence on Discrimination in Housing. U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Office of Policy Development and Research, Division of Community Development and Fair Housing Analysis.

Niner, Pat

- 1984 "Housing associations and ethnic minorities", New Community, 11(3): 238-248.
- 1985 Housing Association Allocations: Achieving Racial Equality: A West Midlands Case Study. Birmingham: The Runnymede Trust.

Pearce, Diana M.

- 1979 "Gatekeepers and homeseekers: Institutional patterns of racial steering": Social Problems, 26(3): 325-342.
- 1984 "A sheltered crisis: The state of fair housing opportunity in the eighties", in: Glenda Sloane (ed.) A Decent Home: A Report on the Continuous Failure of the Federal Government to Provide Equal Housing Opportunity. p.143-155.

Ratcliffe, Peter

- 1981 Racism and Reaction: A Profile of Handsworth. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- 1986 Race and Housing in Britain: A Bibliography. No.3, 2nd edition. Coventry: S.S.R.C. Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations.

Rex, J.A. and R. Moore

- 1967 Race, Community and Conflict. London: Oxford University Press.

Ridoutt, Tim

- 1984 "Ethnic monitoring in housing departments: A necessary beginning", New Community, 11(3): 234-237.

Roof, Wade Clark

- 1979 Race and Residence in American Cities. The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 441.

Schafer, Robert

- 1977 New Directions for Federal Housing Policy. Department of City and Regional Planning, Harvard University.
- 1979 Discrimination in Housing Prices and Mortgage Lending. Joint Centre for Urban Studies of MIT and Harvard University, Working Paper no.59.

Sloane, Glenda

- 1983 A Decent Home: A Report on the Continuous Failure of the Federal Government to Provide Equal Housing Opportunity. Washington, D.C.: Citizen's Commission on Civil Rights.

Smith, Barton A. and Peter Mieszkowski

- 1980 A Study of Racial Discrimination in Housing. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Washington, D.C.. Office of Policy Development and Research. Houston University.

Smith, David J. and Anne Whalley

- 1975 Racial Minorities and Public Housing. London: Political and Economic Planning.

Smith, David J.

- 1976 The Facts of Racial Disadvantage: A National Survey. London: Political and Economic Planning.
- 1977 Racial Disadvantage in Britain: The P.E.P. Report. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

United States Commission on Civil Rights

- 1983 A Sheltered Crisis: The State of Fair Housing in the Eighties. Presentations at a consultation sponsored by the United States Commission on Civil Rights. Washington, D.C.: United States Commission on Civil Rights.

Ward, Robin H.

- 1984 "Race and housing: issues and policies", New Community, 11(3): 201-205.

Ward, Robin H. (ed.)

- 1984 Race and Residence in Britain: Approaches to Differential Treatment in Housing. Monograph on Ethnic Relations 2. Birmingham: S.S.R.C. Research Unit on Ethnic Relations.

Watson, Theresa

- 1983 "Creative forms of finance discrimination", in: United States Commission on Civil Rights, A Sheltered Crisis: The State of Fair Housing in the Eighties. Washington, D.C., p.90-94.

Wienk, Ronald E., Reid, Clifford E., Simonson, John C., and
Frederick J. Eggers

1979 Measuring Racial Discrimination in American Housing
Markets: The Housing Market Practices Survey. Division of
Evaluation. U.S. Department of Housing and Urban
Development, Office of Policy Development and Research.

Yinger, John

1977 Prejudice and Discrimination in the Urban Housing Market.
Department of City and Regional Planning, Harvard
University.

1982 Measuring Racial and Ethnic Discrimination with Fair
Housing Audits. Program in City and Regional Planning,
John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University.

VIII

MINORITY COMMUNITY PERCEPTIONS

An informal survey was undertaken of some of the major community based visible minority organizations in Metropolitan Toronto. These included:

- * Congress of Black Women
- * Ontario Coalition of Visible Minority Women
- * Jamaican Canadian Association
- * Chinese Canadian National Council
- * Hispanic Council of Metropolitan Toronto .
- * Vietnamese Association of Toronto
- * Urban Alliance on Race Relations
- * Toronto Mayor's Committee on Community and Race Relations
- * Cross Cultural Communication Centre
- * Scarborough Multicultural and Race Relations Committee

All respondents believe racial discrimination in housing exists as a major problem. While community organizations receive housing discrimination complaints and people talk about it, it is however, not a "hot" issue. While housing discrimination is a known issue, community organizations do not know what to do about it. While the problem is hidden, the solutions appear equally elusive. The articulated concerns are based on feelings and perceptions, but nobody has any real proof or data on the magnitude of the problem. The comment was made: "There is nothing to work with".

Apart from issues of racial discrimination, other specific comments and problems identified by respondents included:

- Most severe housing problems are encountered by recent immigrants
- Problems of obtaining credit and mortgages
- Lack of affordable housing
- Particular housing needs of ethnic seniors
- Numbers of children in some groups leading to overcrowding
- Transactional relationships between ethnic owner and ethnic tenant (i.e. renting substandard housing cheap)
- Need to develop ethnic co-op housing
- Need to improve access and treatment in Ontario Housing Corporation complexes

The respondents provided unanimous support for undertaking a study of racial discrimination in housing. As stated by the respondents, the need for such a study would:

- Demonstrate the nature and extent of the problem
- Develop awareness and information for prospective renters, buyers, etc. on the signals and indicators of discrimination
- Ensure more equitable access and services to visible minorities

IX RELEVANCE OF ISSUE TO MULTICULTURAL POLICIES

Canada is committed to the principles of equality, justice, and rights for all its people. Racial discrimination in housing is clearly an affront to these principles.

The Charter of Rights and Freedoms is the formal articulation of that commitment as is the Multiculturalism Policy adopted by Parliament fifteen years ago. That Policy committed Canada to helping minority groups to overcome barriers to full and equal participation in Canadian society.

Among the five-year objectives established in the National Strategy on Race Relations (March 21, 1984) by Multiculturalism Canada are:

- " * enhance the role of the federal government in setting examples and playing a continuing role in promoting institutional change to eliminate discrimination based on race, ...
- * commission action-oriented research to enable a better understanding of the Canadian dimension of this problem and to develop policies and programs to improve race solutions".

This same document identifies research as a major strategy:

"There is a need to develop a better understanding of racial discrimination and prejudice within the Canadian context. Research should focus on contributing to the development of

practical solutions while also supporting efforts of a theoretical nature that will clarify concepts and suggest ideas and directions.

Areas requiring attention are:

- a) systemic discrimination, particularly as it relates to social institutions;
- b) models promoting attitudinal and behavioural change;
- c) the causes of racial discrimination within Canadian society; ...
- g) replication of international research in the Canadian context and a continuing monitoring of international research".

The new Multiculturalism Act presently before Parliament, among other things, commits the Government of Canada to:

"ensure that all individual receive equal treatment and equal protection under the law, while respecting and valuing their diversity"; (Bill C-93, 3(1)(e) 1987) ...

- "2(c) promote policies, programs and practices that enhance the understanding of and respect for the diversity of the members of Canadian society;
- (d) collect statistical data in order to enable the development of policies, programs and practices that are sensitive and responsive to the multicultural reality of Canada"; (Bill C-93, 3(2), 1987).

Given the above stated policies, principles and objectives, the issue of racial discrimination in housing and related research is clearly of central importance and relevance to the existing Multicultural policies and mandate of the Federal Government.

Accommodation and shelter are fundamental and primary needs. If freedom of choice and equality of access to housing are being denied to racial minorities in Canada as a result of racial discrimination - and the preliminary assessment clearly suggests this is occurring widely and in very significant numbers - then the above stated policies clearly direct the Federal Government to devote considerable resources to address this widespread denial of a fundamental right.

From amongst all these principles and objectives there emerges a solid jurisdictional basis and mandate for Multiculturalism Canada to support a comprehensive analysis of housing discrimination in Canada.

X IMPLICATIONS

The Need for Research

The implications of this preliminary needs assessment are clear. The reader is undoubtedly struck by the enormous contrast between the section providing a brief survey of the international literature compared with the rest of this report. The survey of the U.S. and U.K. situation shows that a considerable body of knowledge has been developed - the research, the analysis, the policy initiatives, etc. In sharp contrast, the level of awareness, understanding and commitment to eradicate racial discrimination in housing in Canada is virtually non-existent.. This embarrassing situation, with its almost total lack of quantifiable data needs to be remedied urgently.

Is There Racial Discrimination in Housing?

A comparative international analysis of the U.K. and U.S. situation is particularly relevant because research of the incidence of racial discrimination in other areas has been found to almost exactly replicate the level of racial discrimination in Canada (see for example recent employment studies). There is no reason to suppose that minorities are treated any differently in housing.

Secondly, the preliminary findings of the pilot project in Toronto and the study by the Quebec Human Rights Commission in Montreal on racial discrimination in housing, show that the treatment of racial minorities in pursuit of shelter in this country is riddled with racially discriminatory behaviour and is

indeed no different to the situation suffered by minorities in the U.S. and U.K.

Thirdly, the assessment of community respondents, although unable to quantify the extent of racial discrimination in housing, confirm and reinforce this analysis.

Fourthly, the number of complaints received by the Human Rights Commissions across the country are regarded as miniscule and represent a very small tip of massive discriminatory behaviour in the housing market. As noted, housing discrimination occurs in such a way that it is difficult for an individual to recognize unlawful discrimination. In addition however, the absence of legal aid, leading to lack of skilled representation for complainants, makes the complaint process unequal. The difficulty of the burden of proof being placed on the complainant, the derisory level of awards of compensation, especially for injury to feeling, and the enormous time delays for reaching a decision, are all major barriers that conspire to inhibit the number of complaints being placed before Human Rights Commissions. It is of interest to note, that the Ontario Human Rights Commission, in acknowledging the severity of the problem and their own inability to address the problem, attempted a couple of years ago to encourage a community organization, the Urban Alliance on Race Relations, to undertake housing audits.

Lack of Institutional Awareness and Commitment

The public sector initiatives in Metro Toronto that have been identified in this report do not in any way address the issue

of racial discrimination. In an unconscious way it might even be said that present activities appear to accept the racial discrimination and disadvantage suffered by minorities, and compensate for their disproportionate representation in publicly-assisted housing by helping them adjust and cope with their situation.

The initiatives are spotty and inadequate in combatting racial discrimination. There is almost a purposeful ignoring and glossing over of the issue. The City of Toronto, through the use of 'ethnic village' street signs, actually celebrates residential and commercial segregation. This seemingly innocuous and 'nice' idea requires more careful consideration. U.S. evidence clearly shows that residential segregation is not explained by personal choice, since racial minorities have consistently expressed a choice for integrated areas. Social scientists have concluded that continuing high levels of housing segregation are attributable mainly to continuing high levels of discrimination.

Racial Discrimination in Housing is a Public Responsibility

There is a history in Canada of public sector approaches towards racial discrimination functioning within a reactive framework. That is, the public sector tends to impose the responsibility upon the victims of racial discrimination to identify the problem. In a situation where no body of knowledge exists, the public sector too frequently refers the responsibility to the victims and to the minority communities themselves to diagnose the issues and determine priorities.

When the laws of this country are broken with such impunity, this is simply not good enough. It is particularly inappropriate in a situation like housing when discriminatory behaviour can be so easily hidden from the victim. The doctor does not ask the patient to diagnose the symptoms, and the doctor certainly does not ask the patient to recommend a remedy. Similarly, the victims of racial discrimination should not be placed in such an untenable position.

Not only does the public sector have a responsibility to act in this area, but there is already in place a legislative and policy mandate, as described in the previous sections of this report, to justify supporting action.

Public Awareness and Climate Shaping

There are many indirect gains and climate changes that can be brought about by widely disseminating and publicly promoting the facts of housing discrimination.

Publishing the findings on racial discrimination in housing for the general public to review would increase the level of community awareness and provide a better understanding of the nature of racial discrimination in Canada.

Such widely disseminated data would also provide greater understanding on the part of racial minorities as to how they are discriminated against. Armed with such information, they will be much better equipped to oppose and seek redress. This could be further reinforced if supplementary material was widely

distributed on how to detect discrimination and the avenues and procedures necessary to lodge a complaint.

Application of the Law

As has been said, "The mere existence of the law itself affects prejudice. Considerable moral and symbolic weight is added to a principle when it is embedded in legislation". (Bonfield, 1965). In other words, people's behaviour can be modified by effective implementation of a law, but their attitudes can also be reshaped. However, unless a law is implemented it is no good because the chances of modifying past behaviour patterns are slight.

Publicly promoting the facts of illegal behaviour, of housing discrimination, can have a generally efficacious impact on, for example, general landlord practice.

Provide Directions for Solutions and Change

Apart from increasing awareness, research can provide direction for more rigorous application of existing legislation.

Secondly, the data can provide concrete guidance in the development of different strategies for improving the law.

Thirdly, although it might be said that general awareness of the legislation does exist in the housing industry, the practice of discrimination still persists, with varying degrees of blatancy and subtlety. In subtle discrimination, more and more sophisticated and refined attempts are being made to evade the law.

The research therefore will also help to identify the techniques and methodologies by which any agency in the public or voluntary sector can determine and track discrimination.

Research

No systematic study has been conducted on housing discrimination in Canada.

Clearly, studies which determine the extent of discrimination should be done in every province.

In addition, studies which concentrate on landlords and rental agents should be carried out to see why housing discrimination takes place.

In the area of property purchase, no real research has been conducted on real estate company policies or the practices of real estate agents. It is widely suspected by minority purchasers, for example, that some real estate agents screen out potential purchasers at the request of sellers. This was also confirmed by a 'quick and dirty' survey done by the Canadian Civil Liberties Association some years ago.

As can be seen from the survey of the U.S. and U.K. literature, there is a considerable number of areas concerned with housing discrimination that have not received any attention in Canada. A broad range of issues with respect to attitudes and practices of rental agents, landlords, real estate agents and real estate companies need serious research documentation.

References Cited

- Armour. M. Visible Minorities Invisible. A content Analysis of Submissions to the Special Committee on the Participation of Minorities in Canadian Society. Urban Alliance on Race Relations. Currents: Readings in Race Relations. Spring 1984
- Banton. M. "Two Theories of Racial Discrimination in Housing". Ethnic and Racial Studies. v. 2. # 4)ct. 1979
- Billingsley, B. and Muszynski, L. No Discrimination Here UARR and Social Planning Council. Toronto. 1985
- Bullard. R and Tryman O. "Competition for Decent Housing A Focus on Housing Discrimination Complaints in a Sunbelt City". Journal of Ethnic Studies. v. 8 # 4 Winter. 1979
- Head, W. The Black Presence in the Canadian Mosaic, Toronto, 1975
Adaptation of Immigrants: Perceptions of Ethnic and Racial Discrimination. Toronto. York Un. 1981
- Henry, F. and Ginzberg. E. Who Gets the Work? A Test of Racial Discrimination in Employment UARR. Toronto. 1985
- McKay. D.H. Housing and Race in Industrial Society Rowman and Littlefield, New Jersey. 1977
- Ontario Human Rights Commission, Reports. 1982-32; 1983-84
- Pearce. D.M. "Gate Keepers and Home Seekers: Institutional Patterns in Social Steering". Social Problems. v. 26, #3. Feb. 1979
- Quann. D. Racial Discrimination in Housing. Canadian Council on Social Development. 1979
- Ramcharan. S Racism in Canada Toronto. Butterworth's. 1983
- Richmond. A.H. Aspects of the Absorption and Adaptation of Immigrants. Ottawa. Manpower and Immigration. 1974
- Saltman. J. "Implementing Open Housing Laws Through Social Action" Journal of Applied Behavior V.11, No. I, 1975.
- Teitelbaum, B. and Berube. L. "La Discrimination Raciale dans le Logement a Montreal". Collectif Paroles. n. 22, 1983

Bibliographie

- Bianchi, Suzanne M., Farley, Reynolds et Daphne Spain
1982 "Racial inequalities in housing : An examination of recent trends", Demography, 19 (1) : 37-51.
- Brown, Colin
1984 Black and White Britain: The Third PSI Survey.
Londres:Heinemann.
- Clark, David
1977 "Immigrant responses to the British housing market: A case study in the West Midlands Conurbation", Working Papers on Ethnic Relations, n° 7. Birmingham: S.S.R.C., Research Unit on Ethnic Relations.
- Collard, David
1973 "Exclusion by estate agents: An analysis", Applied Economics, 5: 281-288.
- Commission for Racial Equity (Commission pour l'égalité raciale)
1980 Reports of Two Formal Investigations by the Commission for Racial Equality into Certain Activities of
(i) M. G.D. Mida et D.S. Services Ltd.
(ii) Allen's Accomodation Bureau.
- Commission for Racial Equity (Commission pour l'égalité raciale)
1982 The Allocation of Housing with Particular Reference to Work Permit Holders: Report of a Formal Investigation.
Londres: C.R.E.
- Commission for Racial Equity (Commission pour l'égalité raciale)
1983 Collingwood Housing Association Ltd.: Report of a Formal Investigation. Londres: C.R.E.
- Commission for Racial Equity (Commission pour l'égalité raciale)
1984a Race and Council Housing in Hackney: Report of a Formal Investigation. Londres: C.R.E.
- 1984b Race and Housing in Liverpool: A Research Report.
Londres: C.R.E.
- Commission for Racial Equity (Commission pour l'égalité raciale)
1985 Race and Mortgage Lending: Report of a Formal Investigation. Londres: C.R.E.
- Commission for Racial Equity (Commission pour l'égalité raciale)
1985 Annual Report (Rapport annuel). Londres: C.R.E.
- Community Relations Commission (Commission des relations communautaires)

- 1977 Housing Choice and Ethnic Concentrations: An Attitude Study. Londres: C.R.E.
- Daniel, W.W.
1968 Racial Discrimination in England. Londres: Penguin Books.
- Davies, J. et J. Taylor
1970 "Race, community and no conflict", New Society, 9 juillet : 67-69.
- Fenton, Mike et David Collard
1977 "Do coloured tenants pay more?" Working Papers on Ethnic Relations, n° 1. Bristol: S.S.R.C., Research Unit on Ethnic Relations.
- Flett, Hazel
1977 "Council housing and the location of ethnic minorities", Working Papers on Ethnic Minorities, n° 5, Bristol: S.S.R.C. Research Unit on Ethnic Relations.
- 1979 "Black council tenants in Birmingham", Working Papers on Ethnic Relations, n° 12. Bristol: S.S.R.C. Research Unit on Ethnic Relations.
- Flett, Hazel
1979 "Dispersal policies in council housing: Arguments and evidence", New Community, 7(2): 184-194.
- 1981 "The politics of dispersal in Birmingham", Working Papers on Ethnic Relations, n° 14. Bristol: S.S.R.C. Research Unit on Ethnic Relations.
- 1982 "Differential treatment in housing: Issues and approaches", New Community, 10(1): 46-54.
- 1984 "Asians in council housing: An analysis", dans: Robin Ward (éd.) Race and Residence in Britain: Approaches to Differential Treatment in Housing. Monographie sur les relations inter-ethniques 2. Birmingham: S.S.R.C. Research Unit on Ethnic Relations.
- Goering, John M.
1982 "Race, housing, and public policies: A strategy for social science research", Urban Affairs Quarterly, 17(4): 463-490.
- Hahn, Colin
1984 "Public housing in Hackney", New Community, 11(3): 249-255.

Hernandez, Jorge N.

- 1983 "Hispanics and fair housing: The neighbourhood development issue", dans : United States Commission on Civil Rights, pages 100-104.

Housing Opportunities Center

- 1977 Preference, Limitation, Discrimination: A Study of Newspaper Display Advertising for New Sales Housing in Metropolitan Washington, D.C., 1972-1975. Washington: The Metropolitan Washington Planning and Housing Association (Association de planification et de logement de la région métropolitaine de Washington).

Jackman, Mary R. et Robert W. Jackman

- 1980 "Racial inequalities in home ownership", Social Forces, 58(4): 1221-1234.

Kain, John et John M. Quigley

- 1972 "Housing market discrimination, home ownership and savings behaviour", American Economic Review, 62(3).

Kain, John F.

- 1979 Racial Discrimination in Urban Housing Markets and Goals for Public Policy. Département de planification urbaine et régionale, Université Harvard.

Lake, Robert W.

- 1984 "Changing symptoms, constant causes: Recent evolution of fair housing in the United States", New Community, 11(3): 206-213.

London Race and Housing Forum (Colloque sur la race et le logement à Londres)

- 1981 Racial Harassment on Local Authority Housing Estates. Rapport produit par le colloque sur la race et le logement à Londres: Commission pour l'égalité raciale.

McKay, David H.

- 1977 Housing and Race in Industrial Society: Civil Rights and Urban Policy in Britain and the United States. Londres: Croom Helm.

Newburger, Harriet

- 1984 Recent Evidence on Discrimination in Housing. Ministère du logement et du développement urbain des Etats-Unis, Bureau de l'élaboration des politiques et de la recherche, Division du développement communautaire et de l'analyse du logement.

Niner, Pat

- 1984 "Housing associations and ethnic minorities", New Community, 11(3): 238-248.
- 1985 Housing Association Allocations: Achieving Racial Equality: A West Midlands Case Study. Birmingham: The Runnymede Trust.
- Pearce, Diana M.
1979 "Gatekeepers and homeseekers: Institutional patterns of racial steering": Social Problems, 26(3): 325-342.
- 1984 "A sheltered crisis: The state of fair housing opportunity in the eighties", dans : Glenda Sloane (éd.) A Decent Home: A Report on the Continuous Failure of the Federal Government to Provide Equal Housing Opportunity. pages 143-155.
- Ratcliffe, Peter
1981 Racism and Reaction: A Profile of Handsworth. Londres: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- 1986 Race and Housing in Britain: A Bibliography. N° 3, 2^e édition, Coventry: S.S.R.C. Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations.
- Rex, J.A. et R. Moore
1967 Race, Community and Conflict. Londres: Oxford University Press.
- Ridoutt, Tim
1984 "Ethnic monitoring in housing departments: A necessary beginning", New Community, 11(3): 234-237.
- Roof, Wade Clark
1979 Race and Residence in American Cities. The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 441.
- Schafer, Robert
1977 New Directions for Federal Housing Policy. Département de planification urbaine et régionale. Université Harvard.
- 1979 Discrimination in Housing Prices and Mortgage Lending. Centre mixte des études urbaines du MIT et de l'Université Harvard, Document de travail n° 59.
- Sloane, Glenda
1983 A Decent Home: A Report on the Continuous Failure of the Federal Government to Provide Equal Housing Opportunity, Washington, D.C. : Citizen's Commission on Civil Rights (Commission populaire des droits civils).

- Smith, Barton A. et Peter Mieszkowski
1980 A Study of Racial Discrimination in Housing, Ministère du logement et du développement urbain, Washington, D.C., Bureau de l'élaboration des politiques et de la recherche. Université de Houston.
- Smith, David J. et Anne Whalley
1975 Racial Minorities and Public Housing. Londres: Political and Economic Planning (Planification politique et économique).
- Smith, David J.
1976 The Facts of Racial Disadvantage: A National Survey. Londres : Political and Economic Planning (Planification politique et économique).
- 1977 Racial Disadvantage in Britain: The P.E.P. Report. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.
- United States Commission on Civil Rights (Commission des droits civils des Etats-Unis)
- 1983 A Sheltered Crisis: The State of Fair Housing in the Eighties. Mémoires présentés à une audience parrainée par la Commission des droits civils des Etats-Unis. Washington, D.C. : Commission des droits civils des Etats-Unis.
- Ward, Robin H.
1984 "Race and housing: issues and policies", New Community, 11(3): 201-205.
- Ward, Robin H. (éd.)
1984 Race and Residence in Britain: Approaches to Differential Treatment in Housing. Monographie sur les relations inter-ethniques 2. Birmingham: S.S.R.C. Research Unit on Ethnic Relations.
- Watson, Theresa
1983 "Creative forms of finance discrimination", dans : Commission des droits civils des Etats-Unis, A Sheltered Crisis: The State of Fair Housing in the Eighties. Washington, D.C. : pages 90-94.
- Wienk, Ronald E., Reid, Clifford E., Simonson, John C. et Frederick J. Eggers
1979 Measuring Racial Discrimination in American Housing Markets: The Housing Market Practices Survey. Division de l'évaluation. Ministère du logement et du développement urbain des Etats-Unis, Bureau de l'élaboration des politiques et de la recherche.

Yinger, John

1977 Prejudice and Discrimination in the Urban Housing Market. Département de la planification urbaine et régionale, Université Harvard.

1982 Measuring Racial and Ethnic Discrimination with Fair Housing Audits. Programme de planification urbaine et régionale, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Université Harvard.

